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Soviet Denies It Violated Sovereignty of the Czechs

*In Ideological Justification of Invasion,
Pravda Says Warsaw Pact Forces
Defended Communist Cause*

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Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Sept. 26 — An ideological justification for the intervention in Czechoslovakia was advanced today by Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist party.

Not to do so, Pravda explained, would have been acting according to the dictates of "abstractly understood sovereignty." The real sovereignty of Czechoslovakia demanded that the "fraternal countries" protect her from those who threatened to undermine "the very foundations of the country's independence and sovereignty."

A major ideological article by S. Kovalev, a Pravda staff specialist on propaganda, developed at length a doctrine that contrasted the special socialist legality, upholding the five-power invasion, with more generally held ideas of legality.

The Pravda writer left unclear the question of who de-

said, "none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their own country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries." Each Communist party, Mr. Kovalev continued, is responsible not only to its own people but also to all the socialist countries.

Whoever forgets this, the Pravda commentator declared, and stresses only the independence of Communist parties falls into the error of "one-sidedness."

"Marxist dialectics are opposed to one-sidedness," Mr. Kovalev said, in underpinning this argument.

Interpretation of Law

Mr. Kovalev declared that the socialist states respected international law and had proved their devotion to it by opposing "the attempts of imperialism to violate the sovereignty and independence of nations."

"However, from a Marxist point of view," he continued, "the norms of law, including the norms of mutual relations of the socialist countries, cannot be interpreted narrowly, formally and in isolation from the general context of class struggle in the modern world."

The Pravda ideological specialist reiterated the doctrine that each Communist party was free to apply the principles of socialism in its country. But, he continued, "it cannot depart from these principles."

Each party must take into account the decisive fact of the struggle between capitalism and socialism, he said, citing Lenin and implying that Czechoslovakia had not done so.

While recognizing the principle of national self-determination, Mr. Kovalev excluded Czechoslovakia from its application. He said:

"Formal observance of freedom of self-determination of a nation in the concrete situation that arose in Czechoslovakia would be freedom of 'self-determination' not of the people's masses, the working

Anti-Red Threat Seen

Mr. Kovalev declared that, under the guise of democratization, antisocialist forces were threatening the socialist state, "seeking to demoralize the Communist party and begot the minds of the masses." They were not "duly rebuffed" inside Czechoslovakia.

While disavowing for themselves the right to export their revolution, Mr. Kovalev said, the Soviet Union and its allies exercised their right to prevent the export of counterrevolution to Czechoslovakia.

Political observers noted that the article, while expanding on the thesis that Czechoslovakia had to be "helped" against an internal threat, did not return to the original explanation of the invasion. This was that unidentified leaders of the Czechoslovak Government and Communist party had called for the troops. Moscow has apparently found itself unable to name a single such leader.

Text of the Pravda article
will be found on Page 3.

cided at what point the socialist legality had to be applied.

A signed article, while important because it appeared in the Soviet Union's principal newspaper, does not carry the degree of authority of an unsigned article, which would be an expression of the party leadership views.

Mr. Kovalev appeared at pains to draw a distinction between formal legality, valid in principle, and actual legality such as applied to Czechoslovakia by her allies.

People of socialist countries "certainly do have and should have" freedom to determine the affairs of their country, he said. However, Mr. Kovalev

The Pravda Article Justifying Intervention in Czechoslovakia

MOSCOW, Sept. 25—Following is an article titled "Sovereignty and International Duties of Socialist Countries," published today in Pravda, Soviet Communist party newspaper, and translated by Novosti, Soviet press agency:

In connection with the events in Czechoslovakia, the question of the correlation and interdependence of the national interests of the socialist countries and their international duties acquire particular topical and acute importance.

The measures taken by the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, in defending the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people are of great significance for strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class.

We cannot ignore the assertions, held in some places, that the actions of the five socialist countries run counter to the Marxist-Leninist principle of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

Abstract Approach Seen

The groundlessness of such reasoning consists primarily abstract, nonclass approach to in that it is based on an abstract question of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

The peoples of the socialist countries and Communist parties certainly do have and should have freedom for determining the ways of advance of their respective countries.

However, none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries, and the whole working class movement, which is working for socialism.

This means that each Communist party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all the socialist countries, to the entire Communist movement. Whoever forgets this, in stressing only the independence of the Communist party, becomes one-sided. He deviates from his international duty.

One-Sidedness Opposed

Marxist dialectics are opposed to one-sidedness. They demand that each phenomenon be examined concretely, in general connection with other processes.

Just as, in Lenin's words, a man living in a society cannot be free from the society, one or another socialist state, staying in a system of other states composing the socialist community, cannot be free from the common interests of that community.

The sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, of the world revolutionary movement. Lenin demanded that all Communists fight against small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest.

The socialist states respect the democratic norms of international law. They have proved this more than once in practice, by coming out resolutely against the attempts of imperialism to violate the sovereignty and independence of nations.

It is from these same positions that they reject the leftist, adventurist conception of "exporting revolution," of "bringing happiness" to other peoples.

However, from a Marxist point of view, the norms of law, including the norms of mutual relations of the socialist countries, cannot be interpreted narrowly, formally, and in isolation from the general context of class struggle in the modern world. The socialist countries resolutely come out against the exporting and importing of counterrevolution.

Opposing Systems' Stressed

Each Communist party is free to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism in its country, but it cannot depart from these principles assuming, naturally, that it remains a Communist party).

Concretely, this means, first of all, that, in its activity, each Communist party cannot but take into account such a decisive fact of our time as the struggle between two opposing social systems—capitalism and socialism.

This is an objective struggle, a fact not depending on the will of the people, and stipulated by the world's being split into two opposite social systems. Lenin said: "Each man must choose between joining our side or the other side." "The struggle between the two systems in this issue must end in fiasco."

It has got to be emphasized that when a socialist country seems to adopt a "non-affiliated" stand, it retains its national independence, in effect, precisely because of the might of the socialist community, and above all the Soviet Union as a central force, which also includes the might of its armed forces. The weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism directly affects all the socialist countries, which cannot look indifferently upon this.

NATO Threat Seen

The antisocialist elements in Czechoslovakia actually covered up the demand for so-called neutrality and Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the socialist community with talking about the right of nations to self-determination.

However, the implementation of such "self-determination," in other words, Czechoslovakia's detachment from the socialist community, would have come into conflict with its own vital interests and would have been detrimental to the other socialist states.

Such "self-determination," as a result of which NATO troops would have been able to come up to the Soviet border, while the community of European socialist countries would have been split, in effect encroaches upon the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and conflicts, as the very root of it, with the right of these people to socialist self-determination.

Discharging their international duty toward the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia and defending their own socialist gains, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states had to act decisively and they did act against the antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia.

Gomulka Is Quoted

Comrade W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers party, commented figuratively on this score when he said:

"We tell those friends and comrades of ours in the other countries who think they are upholding the righteous cause of socialism and the sovereignty of the peoples by against the entry of our troops into Czechoslovakia:

When the enemy mines our house, the community of socialist states, with dynamite, it is our patriotic, national and international duty to obstruct this by using the means that are necessary."

People who "disapprove" of the actions of the allied socialist states are ignoring the decisive fact that these countries are defending the interests of all of world socialism, of the entire world revolutionary movement.

The system of socialism exists in concrete form in some countries, which have their own definite state boundaries; this system is developing according to the specific conditions of each country. Furthermore, nobody interferes in the concrete measures taken to improve the socialist system in the different socialist countries.

However, the picture changes fundamentally when a danger arises to socialism itself in a particular country. As a social system, world socialism is the common gain of the working people of all lands; it is indivisible and its defense is the common cause of all Communists and all progressives in the world, in the first place, the working folk of the socialist countries.

'Rightist' Aim Described

The Bratislava statement of the Communist and Workers' parties says of socialist gains that "support, consolidation and defense of these gains, won at the price of heroic effort and the self-sacrifice of each people, represents a common international duty and obligation for all the socialist countries."

What the right-wing anti-socialist forces set out to achieve in recent months in Czechoslovakia did not refer to the specific features of socialist development or the application of the principle of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions obtaining in that country, but constituted encroachment on the foundations of socialism, on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

This is the nuance that people who have fallen for the hypocritical nonsense of the antisocialist and revisionist elements still cannot understand. Under the guise of "nationalization" these elements were little by little shaking the socialist state, seeking to demoralize the

Communist party and befog the minds of the masses, stealthily hatching a counter-revolutionary coup, and they were not duly rebuffed inside the country.

Could Not Stand Aside

Naturally the Communists of the fraternal countries could not allow the socialist states to be inactive in the name of an abstractly understood sovereignty, when they saw that the country stood in peril of antisocialist degeneration.

The actions in Czechoslovakia of the five allied socialist countries accords also with the vital interests of the people of the country themselves.

Socialism, by delivering a nation from the shackles of an exploiting regime, insures the solution of the fundamental problems of the national development of any country that has embarked upon the socialist road. On the other hand, by encroaching upon the main stays of socialism, the counterrevolutionary elements in Czechoslovakia undermined the very foundations of the country's independence and sovereignty.

Formal observance of the freedom of self-determination of a nation in the concrete situation that arose in Czechoslovakia would mean freedom of "self-determination" not of the popular masses, the working people, but of their enemies.

The antisocialist path, "neutrality", to which the Czechoslovak people were pushed would bring it to the loss of its national independence.

World imperialism, on its part, supported the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, tried to export counterrevolution to that country in this way.

The help to the working people of Czechoslovakia by other socialist countries, which prevented the export of counterrevolution from abroad, constitutes the actual sovereignty of the Czechoslovak socialist republic against those who would like to deprive it from its sovereignty and give up the country to imperialism.

Political Means Exhausted

The fraternal Communist parties of the socialist countries were for a long time taking measures, with maximum self-restraint and patience, to help the Czechoslovak people with political means to stop the onslaught of antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia. And only when all such measures were exhausted did they bring

The soldiers of the allied socialist countries now in Czechoslovakia proved by their actions indeed that they have no other tasks than the tasks of defending socialist gains in that country.

They do not interfere in the internal affairs of the country, are fighting for the principle of self-determination of the peoples of Czechoslovakia not in words but in deeds, are fighting for their inalienable right to think out profoundly and decide their fate themselves, without intimidation on the part of counterrevolutionaries, without revisionists and nationalist demagogues.

Class Approach to Law

Those who speak about the "illegal actions" of the allied socialist countries in Czechoslovakia forget that in a class society there is not and there cannot be non-class laws.

Laws and legal norms are subjected to the laws of the class struggle, the laws of social development. These laws are clearly formulated in Marxist-Leninist teaching, in the documents jointly adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties.

Formally juridical reasoning must not overshadow a class approach to the matter. One who does it, thus losing the only correct class criterion in assessing legal norms, begins to measure events with a yardstick of bourgeois law.

Such an approach to the question of sovereignty means that, for example, the progressive forces of the world would not be able to come out against the revival of neo-Nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany, against the actions of butchers Franco and Salazar, against reactionary arbitrary actions of "black colonels" in Greece, because this is "the internal affair" of "sovereign" states.

Vietnam Example Cited

It is characteristic that both the Saigon puppets and their American protectors also regard the notion of sovereignty as prohibiting support for the struggle of progressive forces.

They proclaim at every crossroads that the socialist countries, which are rendering help to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence and freedom, are violating the sovereignty of Vietnam. Genuine revolutionaries, being internationalists, being progressive forces in all countries in their just struggle for national and social liberation.

The interests of the socialist community and of the whole revolutionary movement, the interests of socialism in Czechoslovakia demand complete exposure and political isolation of the reactionary forces in that country, consolidation of the working people and consistent implementation of the Moscow agreement between the Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders.

There is no doubt that the actions of the five allied socialist countries in Czechoslovakia directed to the defense of the vital interests of the socialist community, and the sovereignty of socialist Czechoslovakia first and foremost, will be increasingly supported by all those who have the interest of the present revolutionary movement, of peace and security of peoples, of democracy and socialism at heart.